N 493/A

A PROPOSAL

For Humbling

Polit. Pamph. vol 78.

SPAIN.

Written in 1711.

By a Person of Distinction.

And now first printed from the MANUSCRIPT.

To which are added,

Some Considerations on the Means of INDEMNIFYING GREAT BRITAIN from the EXPENCES of the PRESENT WAR.

LONDON:

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(Price One Shilling.)

THE EDITOR TO THE READER.

AS Treaſure found in the Earth, belongs by Law to the Lord of the Soil: So whatever may benefit Society, if it falls into the hands of a private Man, remains there only in truſt for the Publick. The firſt fair Occaſion which preſents itſelf of diſcharging this Truſt, is a demand which he ought to be ſenſible of, and not be ſlow in performing a Duty, which is ſo much the more incumbent from its being known

only to himſelf. A thouſand Accidents, after one opportunity ſlipp'd, may intervene and deprive him of another. Which ſhews how careful one ought to be in the Concerns of one's Country, and how little, in ſuch caſe, Time *is to be truſted, which we can neither recall nor ſecure.*

THE Conſideration of theſe Points induced the Publication of the following Propoſal, which felt into my hands many Years ago by accident, and was called from a duſty Corner of my Study by the Declaration of War againſt Spain. *As ſoon as I heard that, I thought of this; but tho' I always thought it both a curious and uſeful Piece, yet I was determined to publiſh it in the manner it now ſtands, by*

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the Report of a Law ſhortly to be made for encouraging his Majeſty's Subjects to enter into Copartnerſhips, for the more effectually making Reprizals on the Spaniards. *Had it not been for this, I believe I ſhould have put it into the hands of the Publick by itſelf, without any Obſervations. But this making it appear to me a thing of greater Importance, I reſolved to take all the pains I could to explain, and render it generally uſeful at the preſent important Juncture.*

IT would have been very eaſy (had I been ſo inclined) to have thrown this Project into a new Form, and to have concealed entirely the original Author. But this would have been mean and baſe

baſe. It would have been committing the blackeſt kind of Theft, and inſtead of doing juſtice to the Publick, it would have been impoſing on it. A juſt Senſe of this hath obliged me not only to preſerve the Piece in its old Form, and in its Author's own Words; but hath likewiſe reſtrained me from interpolating or curtailing it in any manner whatſoever. In a word, it hath inclined me to deal with this Gentleman's Work, as I could wiſh (were I capable of leaving ſuch a one) a Work of my own might be dealt with.

AS to the Author, I can only ſay that he was a Perſon of great Abilities, much Experience, and ſome Diſtinction in the World, to which his Merit advanced him.

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The Piece itſelf will ſhew thus much, and more I neither can, nor is it neceſſary I ſhould ſay. He is long ago dead, and conſequently out of the reach of Favour or of Envy. He was living a zealous Friend to his Country, and even in his Grave his Labours are not buried with him. To ſuch a Man's Memory every true Friend to Worth muſt be grateful; and therefore I am in no pain for the Reception this little Treatiſe will meet with. It hath Merit enough to make it acceptable at any time. It is ſo proper to be conſidered at this time, that it muſt have pleaſed if it had leſs Merit.

THE Remarks which are added have the ſame Intention with the original Piece; viz. *to awaken*

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a due Senſe of Honour, and a juſt Regard for the Publick, in the Breaſt of every Engliſhman, *in ſo critical a Juncture. If any way it ſhall further ſo deſirable, ſo glorious a Purpoſe, it will do the greateſt Honour to the deceaſed Patriot, and fully reward me for any little Pains I have taken about it. With theſe Reflections I commit it to the Hands of the* Britiſh *Nation, and ſincerely wiſh to ſee them embrace either this, or ſome more profitable and laudable Propoſal.*

A

PROPOSAL

For Humbling

SPAIN.

Written originally in MDCCXI.

IN my Opinion there is nothing more aſtoniſhing in the whole Courſe of * this ruinous and yet neceſſary War, than the little Advantage we have reap'd from our great Superiority at Sea, if our Hands are tied up by ſecret Treaties, and therefore muſt not exert our ſelves where we naturally have the greateſt Proſpect of ſucceeding, as well as

* *In the Reign of Queen* ANNE *of glorious Memory.*

the greateſt Neceſſity of undertaking it; I ſay, if this is the caſe, 'tis a very unwarrantable piece of Complaiſance either to our Allies, or Enemies. But without making further Conjectures about a thing that hath puzzled many more beſides myſelf, I ſhall proceed to treat of the Subject that at preſent induc'd me to put Pen to Paper: And if I was not throughly convinc'd that the following Propoſal is both very beneficial, and neceſſary to *Great Britain*, and likewiſe very proper to be attempted at this time, I ſhould not be prevail'd upon to ſay a word concerning it.

I humbly propoſe to the Government, to ſend in the beginning of next *October*, eight Men of War, with five or ſix large Tranſports, which number of Ships may very well contain 2500 Men fit to land upon any occaſion, to attack, or rather ſeize upon *Buenos*

Ayres, which is ſituated upon the River of *Plate*. I am convinc'd they will either make no Defence, or a very weak one, againſt ſuch a Force; for if I only deſign'd the plundering it, I would not in the leaſt doubt of doing it with 400 Buccaneers. But I am far from forming ſo mean an Enterprize, but on the contrary, as ſoon as taken, propoſe the fortifying it in the beſt manner the Country will allow of, for here is no Stone, and the lazy *Spaniards* have never try'd to make Brick; but theſe Defects are capable of being remedy'd more ways than one, and when the Place is fortify'd, there ought to be left the moſt numerous Garriſon that can be ſpar'd, without weakening the Men of War too much: As to the Men on board the Tranſports, 'tis to be ſuppos'd they were ſent to be left there. Now to ſhew the vaſt Importance of this Place, I am under a neceſſity of giving a ſhort Deſcription of

Country, with the Uſe that may be made of it, by my Countrymen, if they pleaſe.

THE Mouth of the River of *Plate* lies in 35° 00″ ſouth Latitude, and the Town of *Buenos Ayres* is ſituated on the ſouth Side of the River, upon an Angle of Land, form'd by a ſmall Rivulet call'd *Rio Chuelo*. It hath no other Fortification to defend it but a ſmall Earthen Fort, ſurrounded with a Ditch, and mounted with 18 or 20 Guns; the Town contains about 500 Houſes, inhabited by a very wealthy People, who have been ſo happy as never to be attack'd by any Enemies ſince it was firſt ſettled, which they owe to their being plac'd out of the way of the whole World, as one may ſay, except the *Portugueze*. Their whole Force is computed (by Monſ. *Acarete du Biſcay*) to be not above 600 Men, the

the three Companies in Garriſon included.

THE Fertility of this happy Country exceeds belief; for their Plains, which are the largeſt in the World, as being fifty, and ſome eighty Leagues in Circumference, are ſo cover'd with all ſorts of Cattle, that 'tis credible to none but thoſe who ſee them. But to give you an Idea of this matter, I will only mention a Device they have to hinder the landing of an Enemy; which is, to drive ſo vaſt a number of Bulls, Cows, and Horſes to the Shore-ſide, that they ſuppoſe it would be an impoſſible matter to force a way through them. This Monſieur *Acarete du Biſcay* affirms the Inhabitants told him when he was there.

THIS Author I have juſt now mention'd, without diſpute, hath oblig'd the World with the beſt Account of *Buenos*

Buenos Ayres, and the Country between it and *Peru*, of any yet extant; and indeed he had great Advantages to enable him to do it. I am ſenſible ſome will object, that things are very much alter'd ſince that time, for he made his Voyage thither by Order of the Court of *Spain*, in the Year 1657; but I was laſt Summer at *Lisbon*, when three *Dutch* Men of War brought in thither two large Galleons, which came the Day before out of *Cadiz*, and bound for *Buenos Ayres*, who never fir'd a Shot againſt the *Dutch*, becauſe they had a Paſs from the Queen of *England*, and they pretended that ſhe was oblig'd to get the *Dutch* to releaſe them; for which end they ſollicited my Lord *Gallway* to give them leave to go in the Pacquet-Boats for *England*, to negotiate their Buſineſs at Court.

DURING this time I had an opportunity of diſcourſing two of their Pilots every

every Day; the one was a *Greek*, a very ſenſible Fellow, and ſatisfied me in every thing I demanded of him very frankly; the other was a *Baſque*, and more reſerv'd, but in the main, they confirm'd every Particular of Monſieur *Acarete*'s Account. But now to make an end of the Deſcription of this delicious Place; the Soil affords all that *France* or *Italy* can boaſt of, as to Fruits or Garden-Ware; and for Grain, Wheat, Barley, Millet, *&c.* thrives no where better. My Author ſays further, that Partridges are a Penny a-piece, and that Beef, Veal, Mutton, Veniſon, Hares, Rabbits, Pullets, Wild Fowl, *&c.* proportionably; and for Health, which crowns all other Bleſſings, 'tis exceeded by no Place upon the Face of the Earth, and for that reaſon was call'd *Buenos Ayres*, or Good Air.

THIS ſhort Deſcription ſufficiently demonſtrates the Bounty both of the Climate,

Climate, and Soil. And I am perſuaded that I can eaſily prove, that the Situation, in regard to the Commerce of this Nation, is of the greateſt Importance, and that no one Place or Country under Heaven is ſo capable of increaſing the Trade and Riches of *Great Britain*; and this can be undeniably made out by Arguments that are ſelf-evident: For

THERE runs a noble Highway from *Buenos Ayres* to the Province of *Los Charcos*, in which *Potozy*, and the moſt conſiderable Mines are found; and as this Province is the ſouthermoſt of the whole Kingdom of *Peru*, ſo conſequently all *South America* may be ſupplied with Goods or Merchandize of all kinds they want this way, infinitely cheaper than any other now in uſe. And the reaſon why the *Spaniards* do not make uſe of it for this purpoſe, ſhall be told in its proper place.

But

But I think it not amiſs, to give my Reader here an Account how all *South America* uſed to be ſupply'd with *European* Commodities, before this War broke out. In the firſt place, the Goods that come from *England* are ſhipp'd at *Cadiz* aboard the Galleons, who carry them to *Porto Bello*, where they are unloaded, and ſent over Land on Mules Backs to *Panama*; and there re-ſhipp'd on board Ships in the *South Sea*, and carried to *Callao*, and from thence diſpers'd over Land again to the ſeveral Provinces of that vaſt Continent: from whence 'tis plain the Charges of Exportation exceed the prime Coſt of the Goods four or five times. Whereas by *Buenos Ayres* the Charges would be inconſiderable, in compariſon with the uſual way: for the Journey from hence to *Peru* is made with much eaſe in ſixty Days; and for Horſes or Mules for the Carriage, no Country in the World is ſo plentifully ſtock'd with

them as this, for all *Peru* is ſupply'd with theſe Animals from hence: And throughout the whole Journey they paſs not in the leaſt danger of any hoſtile *Indians*, for the Province of *Tucaman*, through which they paſs, hath enjoy'd a perfect Tranquillity from the firſt planting of it by the *Spaniards*, excepting about *Salta*, which borders upon the Valley of *Calchaqui*, from whence they uſed to be plagu'd by the *Chileans*; and for which reaſon the Requas or Caravan of Mules which conſtantly uſe this Trade never come near it. They meet likewiſe upon this Road at every forty or fifty Leagues with good Towns, as *Cordova*, *St. Iago de Leſtro*, *St. Michael de Tucaman*, *Effeco*, *Xuxui*, *Omagoaca*, *Socchoa*, and others, and ſingle Plantations diſpers'd up and down the Country, which makes the way both pleaſant and commodious.

Now

Now I desire the intelligent Reader to consider the vast difference betwixt the way now in use, and this I propose, and to cast his Eyes upon the Maps to help him to form a true Judgment upon the matter; he ought at the same time to remember the Inconveniences, as well as Charge in entering all the Goods at *Cadiz* in *Spanish* Names, to prevent Confiscation, before they can be put on board the Galleons, and the many hazards they are expos'd to in imbarquing, and re-imbarquing so often; besides the Land-Carriage very often of several hundred Leagues before they come to their intended Market, which makes them so excessive dear, that what costs one hundred Pounds at *Cadiz*, must of necessity be sold for a thousand, to recompence the Merchant, in any tolerable degree, for the Charges and Risque he hath run, as well as

the long time he muſt be out of his Money.

WHEREAS by this way of *Buenos Ayres*, when the Goods can be carried thither in *Engliſh* Bottoms, if what coſts one hundred Pounds in *England*, be only ſold at Market for 250 *l.* the Merchant will gain conſiderably more by it, and be able to have three Returns in the time he made one the other way. And 'tis certain, upon ſo conſiderable a Fall of thoſe Goods they ſtand in ſo much need of, the Conſumption of them will be much augmented; for our Stuffs and Cloaths are ſo unreaſonably dear, for the Reaſons already mention'd, that the poorer ſort, and even the trading People, make uſe of *Quito* Cloath for their wearing Apparel, and only the better ſort uſe *Engliſh* Cloaths and Stuffs. But if we once can ſettle our Trade this way I propoſe,

poſe, we ſhould utterly ruin that Manufacture at *Quito* in a few Years.

THOUGH a great deal more might be ſaid on this head, yet for the ſake of brevity I omit it: I have ſaid enough to thoſe who are competent Judges, and to ſuch I write. I confeſs 'tis an Article of the laſt Importance to *England*, and what we are now groaning under an expenſive bloody War to ſecure: And if we fail of our purpoſe, farewel woollen Manufacture, *&c.* But if we were once neſted here ſecurely, (which if we can be perſuaded to undertake it heartily, I don't in the leaſt doubt may be eaſily effected) we would in deſpite both of *French* and *Spaniard*, though *Philip* kept the Throne of *Spain*, enjoy a more beneficial Trade than ever with *South America*. For

BUENOS AYRES, and the Country depending on it, affords ſeveral

ral Commodities that *Peru* cannot be without: In the firſt place, all the Mules and Horſes that are uſed in the Preſidency of *Los Charcos*, where they have ſo great occaſion for them in carrying, firſt the Ore, and afterwards the Silver, from place to place, come from hence; and they would have much to do to ſubſiſt here, I mean at *Potozy*, was it not for the great quantity of dry'd Cows Fleſh that is brought from *Buenos Ayres* hither, which the ordinary People ſubſiſt upon. 'Tis not to be imagin'd how dear Proviſions of all kinds are at the Mines; and 'tis worth taking notice of, that all Countries in the World that afford Gold or Silver in any plenty, are deſtitute of all other Conveniences, and very unhealthy, *Chily* only excepted.

BUT what is yet of more Importance than all the afore-mention'd Commodities, is the Herb of *Paragua*, that is only

only to be found in the Country adjacent, and depending upon the Government of *Buenos Ayres*; a thing of that mighty Conſequence to *Peru* and *Chily*, that without it they would find it impoſſible to dig any ſilver Ore out of the Mines: for thoſe poor Wretches, *Negroes* and *Indians*, that are employ'd in working in them, are almoſt every Hour ſuffocated with mineral Vapours, which they meet with in thoſe vaſt ſubterranean Caverns; and then nothing will recover them but a Liquor, made by infuſing this Herb in warm Water ſweeten'd with Sugar, and drank plentifully, which reſtores them to their former Vigour. Sometimes when the Caſe is very bad, and the Slaves almoſt dead before they can be brought into the freſh Air, they uſe it for an Emetick, which is done by making the Infuſion ſtronger, and leaving out the Sugar, which clears their Stomach of the offenſive Matter, and ſaves their Life,

Life, when every thing elſe is found ineffectual. The Inhabitants that live on the Surface are likewiſe extremely plagued by theſe mineral Exhalations, and their Bodies dried, or rather parch'd up to that degree, that if it was not for this ſame Remedy, or Liquor, which they are all day ſipping, there would be no living near the Mines. And with all the care they can take, without doubt their Lives are ſhorten'd extremely; but what is not Avarice capable of doing, eſpecially in a *Spaniard?* In a word, without this Herb the Mines would be of little or no uſe, and the Province of *Los Charcos* very thinly inhabited. 'Tis the Tea of this Country, but what they are under an abſolute neceſſity of drinking, not for pleaſure, but to preſerve Life.

THIS Herb is gathered in the Country of *Paragua*, near the City of *Aſſumption*, which is ſituated upon the River

River of *Plate* about one hundred Leagues above *Buenos Ayres*, and there made into Packs, and ſent down the River to *Santa Fe*, a ſmall Village about eighty Leagues above *Buenos Ayres*, and depending upon that Government; where the Merchants from *Chily* and *Peru* come to buy it, and load it upon Mules, and ſo convey it to their reſpective Cities. This Village of *Santa Fe* is the only Paſs by which it can go to *Peru*; for People muſt not imagine that one can pick and chuſe which way they will go in thoſe Countries, as they can in *Europe*; 'tis very providential they have that one good Road through ſo large a Country ſo ſparingly inhabited. But ſuppoſe they could do this, it would be to little purpoſe; for if ever we ſeize upon *Buenos Ayres*, we muſt likewiſe fortify *Santa Fe*, which at preſent contains not above ſixty Houſes, without any manner of Fortification, and take *Aſſumption*,

and ſettle it with a Colony of our own. This City is ſaid to contain about 400 Families, but is no better defended than the other. It was ſettled by People that had, by their Lazineſs and ill Management, out-run their Fortunes in *Peru*; and to this day ſerves for a Retreat to all ſuch People as can live no where elſe in the *Indies*. The Country round it affords every thing neceſſary for Life, even in too great abundance, for which reaſon the Inhabitants are exceeding lazy, and utterly neglect Commerce, ſpending their time in feaſting, and playing on the Guitar. They have very little Money ſtirring amongſt them, bartering one thing for another like the *Indians*. This Herb ſerves to procure them Cloathing from *Buenos Ayres*, as well as all other *European* Goods they want: In ſhort, the Country is much too good for its worthleſs Inhabitants. I deſire my Reader to obſerve, that all the Places I have deſcrib'd,

ſcrib'd, as *Buenos Ayres*, *Santa Fe*, and *Aſſumption*, are ſituated upon the ſame River; and though the diſtance between them at firſt ſeems to be very conſiderable, yet their having a direct and eaſy Communication by Water, makes the Paſſage more convenient than fifty Miles by Land would be.

I think now 'tis very obvious to every common Eye, that if we can ſettle our ſelves at *Buenos Ayres*, the *Spaniards* will be under an abſolute neceſſity to open a Trade with us; nay, 'tis in our power to impoſe what Terms we pleaſe upon them: but if we had no other way to obtain it than the affording our Goods as cheap again as they can furniſh themſelves with the other way, even that, with a little patience, would infallibly produce it. But without truſting to that, we ſhould have them in a manner at our mercy, by

having the Herb of *Paragua* in our hands.

BUT we have ſtill another Lure for the *Spaniards*, as powerful and as proper to produce the deſir'd effect, as any yet mention'd; which is, the ſupplying them with *Negroes* in ſufficient numbers, and cheaper than formerly. This is the great Inconveniency which the *Spaniards* have labour'd under this laſt Age: for having in a manner utterly deſtroy'd the natural Inhabitants, they are oblig'd now to perform the Work by *Negroes*, of which they could never get the number they wanted; and 'tis certain if they were fully ſupply'd, they would get yearly above twice the Quantity of Silver they now do. It muſt be confeſs'd they uſed all means imaginable to obtain them. The *Genoeſe* undertook to ſupply them at a concerted Price betwixt them, for which end they form'd a Company call'd the *Aſſiento*, who

who had their Factors at *Jamaica*, *Curaſoa*, and *Brazil*; and pray conſider what a prodigious Tour they made before they got to the Mines, firſt from *Guinea* to *Jamaica*, from thence to *Porto Bello*, and then to *Panama*, where they are reſhipp'd on board the Fleet when returning to *Callao*; which is a Voyage of four Months at leaſt, for they have the Wind in their Teeth every League of this Voyage. After ſtaying ſome little time at this laſt mention'd Port, they are put on ſhip-board again, and ſent to *Arica*, which is a Voyage of a Month, or thereabout; and when landed, they can't have leſs than 150 Miles to the Mines: From whence, I think, 'tis plain, that not above one *Negro* in three arrives at *Potozy*, or the adjacent Mines, of thoſe that were originally bought by their Factors for that end. Whereas the *Negroes* that might be ſent from *Buenos Ayres*, would be liable to none of the Inconveniencies

veniencies that the other poor Wretches ſuffer'd, as paſſing through ſo many different unhealthy Climates, and ſo many tedious Voyages by Sea, enough to wear out Bodies of Steel, eſpecially conſidering how the miſerable Creatures are accommodated all the time both with Lodging and Diet: but this way I propoſe, they would but have one ſhort Voyage by Sea; for from the Coaſt of *Guinea* to *Buenos Aryes* they would ſail four Parts in five of the Voyage before the Wind; and when landed, paſs through one of the moſt plentiful and healthieſt Countries in the World, even in a manner to the Mines Mouth: ſo that one may venture to affirm, that with careful Management, they would not loſe one in ten. This Article alone is of a moſt prodigious Conſequence, and capable to render our *African* Company the moſt flouriſhing of any in the Kingdom; and it muſt be confeſs'd, that it is the moſt beneficial to this

this Iſland of all the Companies that ever was form'd by our Merchants: for a Cargo rightly ſorted for *Guinea*, conſiſts of fourſcore different Commodities at leaſt, of which ſeventy are of the Manufactures and Produce of this Country; and they return us Gold, Slaves, Ivory, and Wood for dying; whereas other Companies export our Silver, and import us things we might better be without.

EVERY one knows that our *African* Company is now in a manner diſſolv'd, to the great Joy both of the *Dutch* and *French*; and it behoves us, if we are not infatuated, to put it ſpeedily on a better foot than formerly, and not to let ſuch an important Branch of our Commerce be lop'd off, to the enriching our Neighbours, and our own Scandal. Nothing can be more melancholy than the preſent Face of our Trade. The *Spaniſh* Commerce, that

that was deſervedly call'd the Darling, and Silver Mine of *England*, utterly loſt for the preſent; and what's worſe, gain'd by an Enemy. The *African* for the preſent ſuſpended; and 'tis difficult to judge what Fate it will meet with at laſt. In the *Ruſſian* Trade, we are both out-traded, and out-witted by the *Dutch*. As to our *Mediterranean* Trade, we have ſo few of our Ships return ſafe, that 'tis allow'd by the Judicious we are loſers by it every Year. I care not much for giving my Judgment concerning our *Eaſt-India* Trade; but I never heard any body pretend that we were enrich'd by it. In a word, our poor Country hath little to depend upon at preſent but the Plantation Trade; * and they are ſo harraſs'd by the *French*, and ill Management, that they look with a very ſickly Complexion; and if better care be not taken, will contract a Conſumption.

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* *The Reader muſt remember, this was written towards the Cloſe of Queen* ANNE's *War.*

I know the common Anſwer is, that *Peace will make every thing return to its former Channel*; but there are People who wiſh their Country as well as any of their Fellow-Subjects, that mightily doubt it; for they know by many woful Examples, when Trade by ſome unavoidable Accidents, or Miſmanagements, hath changed its old Courſe, that all the Endeavours of the moſt skillful and experienc'd Heads to reduce it back again, have prov'd ineffectual: ‡ Therefore I humbly beg my Countrymen, whom Providence hath plac'd like Centinels to watch over its Commerce, and are paid very liberally for their Pains by the Publick, to repreſent this betimes, as they tender either the Welfare of their Country, or diſcharging their Duty with Honeſty and Ability.

‡ *This is an excellent Obſervation of our Author, and deſerves particular notice at this time.*

BUT to return once more to *Buenos Ayres*; for before I can take leave of it, I ought to take notice of another Commodity it abounds with, which is Hides: tho' this Article ſounds meanly, after ſo many great ones already mention'd; yet when better examin'd, will be found of no ſmall Conſequence. Monſieur *Acarete du Biſcay* ſays, when he firſt arriv'd there, he found riding in the Port twenty-two *Dutch* Ships, who had on board, one with another, 14000 Hides each; and he computes the Hides to be worth in *Europe* twenty-five Shillings a-piece: And he further ſays, that if there had been fifty Ships, they might have had the like Loading; now pray tell me if this is a deſpicable Article? This happen'd when *Oliver* had declar'd War againſt *Spain*, which had put ſuch a ſtop to the Trade betwixt *Cadiz* and *America*, that the Inhabitants were oblig'd to trade with the *Dutch*,

Dutch, or want all ſorts of *European* Goods; for by the Law of *Spain* this was capital, and the Governour, notwithſtanding the neceſſity, was ſome ſmall time after ſent for this very thing a Priſoner into *Spain*, and all he had, was ſeiz'd for the King's Uſe.

THE Court of *Spain* ſuffers but two Ships to go yearly from *Cadiz* to this Colony; and there's not a little ſtriving who ſhall be the People concern'd in them, for they gain above double what the Merchants do that ſend their Goods in the Galleons, and have their Returns in much leſs time. The *Spaniſh* Miniſters of State have been very often ſtrongly ſolicited to bring home all the Treaſures of *Peru* and *Chily* this way, and utterly forſake that of *Porto Bello*, as apparently more expos'd to all Enemies, eſpecially ſince they have loſt *Jamaica*. The Court was very much inclin'd to this Advice,

as being ſenſible of the Truth of the Allegations, by many ſorrowful Experiences in the Wars they have had both with the *Dutch* and us; but upon ſcanning this Propoſal more deliberately, they rejected it, becauſe they plainly perceiv'd if they ſhould abandon the uſual way, a great many Cities, and Tracts of Land that were then in a flouriſhing Condition, would in a ſhort time become deſolate, becauſe they abſolutely depend upon the Paſſage of the Silver, and other Merchandizes of *Peru* and *Chily*, either through or near them; by which means the other Nations of *Europe* that have not ſuch choice of Countries to ſettle, would ſeize upon them, and become nearer Neighbours to the *Spaniards* than their true Intereſt will by any means allow of. It muſt be confeſs'd, that the *Spaniards* upon this occaſion made a true Judgment upon the Matter in debate. But if any Nation in war with them ſhould

ſeize

ſeize upon *Porto Bello*, and think that way to diſtreſs them, by hindering them from bringing home the Silver of *Peru*, they would find themſelves extremely deceiv'd, and laugh'd at by the *Spaniards*, who would very readily change the Courſe of it this way; and when the War was over, re-ſettle it again if they ſaw occaſion. I cannot help taking notice here of a great many People, that I have fallen in company with ſince the beginning of this War, that were full to the brim with the Notion of taking *Porto Bello* and *Panama*, and ſo, as they thought, impriſon the Silver in the Mines; for by their Politicks the *Spaniards* were neither to have *Negroes* to work them, or a Paſſage to bring it to *Europe*. I have loſt too much time in mentioning ſuch a weak ineffectual Project, if it was not in every body's Mouth almoſt that pretends to ſpeak of this matter.

NB

NB

And

AND is only to be match'd with another Project that made a mighty noiſe upon Change about two Years ago; which was to fit out a ſmall Squadron of Ships, and ſuit them with proper Cargoes for the *South-Sea*, and ſend them now we are in war, to trade with them. Surely this was one of the moſt raſcally, villainous Propoſals that ever was offered to the Publick. I can't ſpend much time in ſpeaking to it here; but ſome I will, for the ſake of ſome well-meaning People, that entertain'd too good an Opinion of it.

OUR Merchants in King *Charles* the Second's time, when we were in a profound Peace with the *Spaniards*, had a mind to try if they could not procure a Trade with them in the *South Sea*, as we then had in the *North Sea* from *Jamaica*. But they either knew not, or had not well conſider'd the great

great difference of the two oppoſite Coaſts; for the north Side is almoſt all low Land, and full of many more excellent Harbours than the *Spaniards* can yet ſettle: into theſe uninhabited Harbours our Sloops from *Jamaica* enter, and fire a Gun, the uſual Signal for the *Spaniſh* private Traders, and ride ſecurely all the time requiſite to diſpatch their Buſineſs; or if they miſs of a Trade, as they very often do, they have but a ſhort trip back to *Jamaica*.

WHEREAS the ſouth ſide is all an *Iron-Coaſt*, as the Seamen term it; and as Captain *Dampier* hath truly obſerv'd, hath the feweſt Harbours, or Roads, of any known Coaſt in the whole World, and theſe few all ſettled and fortify'd by the *Spaniards*. Theſe things not being rightly conſider'd, as I told you, loſt our Merchants both their Ships and Loading. The firſt that I ever heard was ſent thither was Captain *Swan*, in

a ſmall Ship call'd the CYGNET, with a very rich Cargo, in which the Duke of *York* was concern'd as an Adventurer. The Captain at his Arrival there, in conjunction with the *Super-Cargoes*, did all that was poſſible to obtain a Trade; and what was the ſucceſs? The *Spaniards*, after they had held him in ſuſpence ſome time with fair Words, in hopes to ſurprize his Ship, which he had the prudence to prevent, took his Boat, kill'd ſome of his Men, and kept the reſt Priſoners. And it was a great Providence that he and all his Men were not ſtarv'd to death; for one muſt be very well acquainted with theſe Seas to know how to ſubſiſt in them. And after ſo long a Voyage as from *England*, 'tis to be ſuppos'd that a Ship's Crew ſtands in need of Refreſhment; but it was his Fortune in ſailing further along the Coaſt, utterly out of all hopes of Trade, to meet with a Company of Privateers, who had come into theſe

theſe Seas over the Iſthmus of *Darien*, under the Conduct of one *Harris*, who had taken *Santa Maria* in their way, and met with a large Booty of Gold; which ſo charm'd Captain *Swan*'s Men, already inraged with the loſs of their Comrades, that they forc'd Captain *Swan* to entertain them, and turn Privateer: which I am perſuaded, though not ſtrictly lawful, preſerv'd their Lives. What happen'd afterwards to them, Captain *Dampier* has related; but Ship and Cargo was intirely loſt to the Merchants.

THIS one trial could not ſatisfy every body, the Merchants ſent again one Captain *Strong*; and, as they flatter'd themſelves, with better Inſtructions than formerly, how to ſucceed. But the luck happen'd to be much the ſame; only Captain *Strong* by great Accident, and ſuffering extraordinary Hardſhips, made a ſhift to get back; and the Account

he gave utterly diſcouraged the Merchants from any further Attempts. And pray let us conſider how 'tis reaſonable to imagine it ever can be otherwiſe; for a Ship after a long Voyage, all weather-beaten, and without doubt ſeveral of her Crew ſick, arrives in the *South Sea*. Well, what can ſhe do, here is no Port for her to enter into, except ſhe will go into their Harbours, under the Command of their Forts; the Captain can only ſend his Boat aſhore with Propoſals for a Trade, and lie by at Sea with his Ship to expect an anſwer? Well, what can you reaſonably hope for from the *Spaniards?* To be ſure, full of wonder at the Novelty of the thing, as knowing it to be capital, and directly contrary to the Orders of the King to trade with you for the Value of a Dollar, and what a Governour of any Town would infallibly loſe his Head for permitting; 'tis poſſible there may be a great Tendency

dency in the People to trade with you: but I will tell you, notwithſtanding, what they will moſt certainly do; they will endeavour by all poſſible means to ſurprize your Ship, or Ships, or upon failure of that, any of your Boats or Men. They will, upon diſcovering you at the firſt Town, ſend notice to the Viceroy, that he may give Orders to fit out the King's Ships at *Callao* to take you, and diſpatch his Orders all along the Coaſt to diſtreſs you as much as poſſible. Now what can a Merchant-Ship do in this caſe, ſhe has no *Jamaica* to retire to, and can't ſo much as get freſh Water here, without underſtanding theſe Seas very well? If they would then uſe force, it would be, without a Miracle, to little purpoſe; for the Country will be every where upon its guard, and Merchant-Ships are ſuppos'd not to have the requiſite number of Men to ſucceed that way. Thus, in all human Appearance,

will end ſuch a fine Undertaking. And pray, what is ſtrange in all this? Do we (any more than the *Spaniards*) ſuffer any other Nation to trade with our *American* Plantations?

IF we ſucceed better in our Endeavours for a Trade in the *North Sea*, 'tis owing to the Reaſons already mention'd; for their Governours never favour it, but take with their Galleys and large Periaguas (by ſurprize) as many of our trading Sloops as poſſibly they can; and 'tis not ſeldom, that we trade in the Day, and fight in the Night, with the ſame People. But there being ſo many fine Ports and Roads without any Inhabitants, 'tis impoſſible to hinder it: Beſides, *Jamaica* lies ſo very conveniently for this Buſineſs, that upon the leaſt notice of a Market, two or three Sloops whip out of *Port Royal* to the appointed Place.

BUT

But in the *South Seas* you have neither a friendly Port to retire to, or one uninhabited, that will ſerve for this purpoſe, or any poſſible means to ſettle a Correſpondence: In a word, I am of opinion, that there is a great deal of Villany lurking in the bottom of this Project, let them gild it as they pleaſe. But

If my Countrymen have this at heart, as one would think there ſhould be little reaſon to doubt of, let them turn their Thoughts upon *Buenos Ayres* or *Chily*; but the firſt is by much to be prefer'd, for many reaſons: For a Voyage to *Chily*, and back again, can't take up leſs time than twenty Months, and a Ship muſt paſs through as ſtormy and tempeſtuous a Sea as any in the World; whereas to the River of *Plate* will not take up half the time, and in all probability will meet with little or no bad

bad Weather in the whole Voyage. Secondly, the *Viceroy* of *Peru* will not be able to diſturb you at *Buenos Ayres*, before you probably will have receiv'd a ſecond Supply, or Reinforcement; but not ſo with *Chily*. Thirdly, we are more certain of procuring a Trade with *Peru* from hence, than from *Chily*, becauſe of the ſeveral Commodities that *Buenos Ayres*, and the Country adjacent afford, which *Peru* ſtands in abſolute need of, and can no way diſpenſe without them. There are yet many more Reaſons, and, in my opinion, very cogent ones, which, for brevity's ſake, I omit.

WHEN this Acquiſition is once made, you need never fear procuring Inhabitants, for there will be more occaſion for the *Bridle* than the *Spur*; the certain Proſpect of being enrich'd, the Plenty, and Healthineſs of the Country, will be ſuch Incitements to People impoveriſh'd

impoveriſh'd by a long War, and want of Trade, that the Country would infalliby abound with Inhabitants on a ſudden. But there ought to be better Order obſerv'd in ſettling this Country, than what we have hitherto practis'd in our other Colonies in *America*; for 'tis the greateſt wonder in the World they ever arrived to any Perfection: and indeed it was in a great meaſure owing to our *civil Wars*, which made many wealthy People fly thither with their Subſtance. This was the occaſion of the haſty Growth of *Barbadoes* and *Virginia*, our two moſt important ones; indeed *New England* and *Penſylvania* owe their Riſe to the Sectaries.

It hath both anger'd and griev'd me to obſerve in our contiguous Colonies upon the Continent, this want of foreſight; for I am very ſure if *one* was attack'd by an Enemy, the Governour

of

of the *next*, though ever ſo well diſpos'd, would find it the hardeſt matter imaginable to get 500 Men together to march to the Relief of his Neighbour, though they were ſure their own turn would be the next. This is but a ſmall Inſtance to what I can give, if I thought it proper.

IN the peopling *Buenos Ayres*, I adviſe my Country to follow the *Turkiſh* Policy, and make the People hold their Lands by the ſame Tenure as their *Timariots*; only it ſhould deſcend to their Heirs, upon keeping or obſerving the Original Contract; which is, to be ready to come compleatly arm'd to the appointed Rendezvous, and ſerve where-ever, and as long as the Government requires. The number of Acres that might be thus allowed for every Soldier, muſt be ſettled after ſome Years Obſervation. Another thing that muſt be remembered, is, never to grant too great-

great a Tract of Land to *one* Man; for this is the greateſt Hindrance to the peopling a Colony that can be, and is the very Diſeaſe that ſome of our Plantations are ſick of, as *Carolina*, *New York*, and the *Jerſeys*; neither is *Virginia* or *Maryland* free from this Diſtemper, which is occaſion'd by Raſcals taking up the Land becauſe the free Rent is little or nothing, and hardly ever paid, in hopes to ſell it dear to new Comers; though in the mean time they neither ſtock the Ground, or any other way make it uſeful to the Publick. This very thing hath done ſeveral of our Plantations incredible damage, by forcing People away who came to ſettle in them.

BUENOS AYRES will allow of theſe, and yet more Reſtrictions, if it is found neceſſary; for here they enter upon the *Spaniſh* Improvements without any of their Labour, and will have ſo many other advantageous ways

of growing rich, by the Situation and proper Commodities of the Country, that it may juſtly be reckon'd a favour to be permitted to ſettle here, and to have reaſonable Tracts of Lands granted them upon equitable Conditions.

THIS Country will, in a very few Years, have Funds of its own, without any ways oppreſſing the Inhabitants, more than ſufficient to defray the Charges of the Government; as a ſmall Duty upon *Negroes* brought hither for the *Spaniards*, the like upon exported Hides, and a very conſiderable one upon the Herb of *Paragua*, which will render it one of the leaſt chargeable, and yet one of the moſt important Colonies the Crown of *Great Britain* ever had.

Thus far the Manuſcript.

I am next to ſhew how reaſonable the preſent Publication is, otherwiſe ſome

ſome may imagine I had done quite as well if I had buried it in my Cloſet. This however I take to be too haſty a Deciſion. For admitting this Publication precipitate, the Piece without queſtion is well written, and of great Importance to the Publick; ſo that how wrong or right ſoever the ſending it abroad may be in regard to myſelf, it is infallibly right with reſpect to the Nation. That may be done *hereafter*, which cannot be done *now*: And this ſerve for a *Guide* to *Poſterity*, which for good reaſons was rejected by their *Fathers*. The *Dutch*, four or five Years ago, ſent two ſtout Ships on Diſcoveries (not without ſucceſs) on a Plan which had lain dormant *threeſcore Years*. Projects of publick Utility may *ſleep*. But if they *ſleep* in a *publick Place*, 'tis ten to one ſome time or other they *wake*. The very Piece before us hath taken a *twenty Year's Nap*; I am going to ſhew the Motives which engaged me

to *diſturb* its *Reſt*. If you think them *juſt*. *Well*. If *not*, let it e'en *Nod* again.

THE *War* we are at preſent engaged in I take to be *perfectly juſt*. We are a *trading People*, in which we follow *Nature*. We are placed in the *midſt* of *Seas*, which ſhews that Providence invites us to *traffick*. Our Neighbours on the *Continent* therefore can have no reaſon to *fear*, but on the contrary many to *love* us. We form no *Pretenſions* on their *Dominions*. We do not *affect Conqueſts*; and whenever we do meddle with the *Affairs* of thoſe *about us*, 'tis to prevent *Force* from becoming *Law*, the *weaker* from being ſwallowed up by the *more potent*, and to ſupport that *Equality* of *Power*, which is as beneficial to *others* in its *Effects*, as in the *Maintenance* thereof 'tis honourable to *ourſelves*.

WHEN

WHEN therefore any *Nation* whatſoever either willfully or wantonly undertakes to diſturb our *Trade*, ſhe gives us juſt Cauſe to attack her. *Trade* is a *univerſal Concern*, and the injuring thereof from *Pride* or *Prejudice*, an Offence againſt the *Law* of *Nature* and *Nations*. But in our caſe *Trade* is a *particular Concern*. It is from it we have, if not our *Being*, at leaſt our *Wealth* and our *Greatneſs*. The *Nation* therefore which would *diſtreſs* us herein, ſhews her kind Intention to *beggar* and *deſtroy* us. *Prudence* may indeed make us *diſſemble* this for a time, but *Stupidity* only can make us *doubt* of it as a *fact*. In the preſent caſe, his Majeſty's well-penned *Declaration* of *War* ſhews plainly, that we fight *pro Aris & Focis*; and the *Succeſs* of the *preſent Diſpute* will certainly determine, whether the *Trade* of *Great Britain* ſhall *be free* or *no*.

THIS

THIS War however is not only *juſt*, in as much as it is *reaſonable*, but 'tis likewiſe *juſt*, becauſe 'twas abſolutely *neceſſary*. We did not kindle like *Touch-wood* from the firſt *Spark* of *Injury* which fell upon us. No, we have been now *twenty Years* a *lighting*; and if in that ſpace any true pains had been taken to *extinguiſh* our *Reſentments*, (for that ſome *cold Water* was thrown, I acknowledge) it would fully have recompenſed the Labour. But it is now too late to look back. We have been *compelled*, viſibly *compelled* to have recourſe to the *ultima Ratio Regum*, and we muſt ſtick to that *Argument* till we carry our *point*.

I do not ſay this to gratify a *Party*. I am perſuaded what I have advanced muſt be grateful to *all Parties*, at leaſt 'tis the Senſe which *all Parties* affect to have, of the preſent State of things; and

and if in this caſe any *Party* diſſemble, 'tis *they* are to blame, not *I*. In conformity to the *publick Sentiments* I have regulated *mine*, and I make no queſtion but my Reaſoning will be admitted amongſt Men of *publick Spirit*, and therefore I will return to the *Point*. I mean the *Point* to be carried by the preſent *juſt* and *neceſſary War*. A War, which if Arguments were wanting to demonſtrate its *Uſe* to the *People*, the People *themſelves* have ſupplied. For the *Sword* was not drawn till they were ready to *break* the *Scabbard* to *pieces*. Let us inquire then what it is they *expect?*

THE higheſt Authority in the *Nation* hath told us, *That* it is hoped *the Freedom of our Navigation will be eſtabliſhed not only beyond all Diſturbance, but alſo beyond all Cavil.* This is what muſt be done (coſt what it will) to prevent future Wars. For ſhould there

there remain any poſſibility of Diſpute about this, the carrying on a *clandeſtine Trade* with the *Spaniſh Plantations* in time of Peace, which is all that his Catholick Majeſty contends for, would not be prevented; but our Trade to our own *Plantations*, (which the *Spaniards* themſelves muſt allow us juſtifiable, in ſhewing the warmeſt Concern for) this Trade I will not ſay is the only *beneficial one*, (though that hath been ſaid) but this Trade which is of the utmoſt Importance to the *Wealth*, and to the *naval Power* of this *Kingdom*, will be impaired by degrees, and in time totally *loſt*: I mean, as a *beneficial Trade*. The *Freedom* of our *Navigation* therefore is a *Point*, which, as the *Lords* and *Commons* have aſſerted, ſo every private Man is convinced in his Conſcience ought never to be departed from. It is our firſt and favourite Point.

BUT beſides this, when *States* make *War*, 'tis as private Men go to *Law*, there muſt be *Coſts* as well *Damages*, otherwiſe *getting the better* may imply being *ruined* with a *good grace*. Every body knows that we have not negotiated without Expence, that our Armaments, to inforce Argument, hath coſt us Money, and that the preſent War will not be fed without conſiderable Proviſions. Now if theſe accumulated Expences fall intirely upon us; we ſhall be but very indifferently off, even if we gain our great Point, *That of ſailing in peace to and from our own Plantations*. This we had always a right to, whatever the *Spaniards* might think; and to lay out Millions to bring them to a juſt way of thinking on this head, is to lay out more than we can afford. *Spain* would ſoon perceive this, and quarrel again. 'Tis her Policy. She has, ſince the Treaty

of *Utrecht*, got ten times as much by being troubleſome, as other People have done by being quiet.

THE worſt Treaty, in all outward Appearance, made by *Spain* ſince that time, was the *Quadruple Alliance*, into which ſhe entered at the Expence of *Sicily*; but we ſee ſhe did this with a View not only to get it *again*, but *Naples* into the *bargain*. An odd Stroke of Policy this, but a ſucceſsful one. Juſt ſo *France* gain'd by loſing *Poland*. *Staniſlaus* by having *Lorain* hath done more for his *Son-in-Law*, than *Lewis* XIV for his *great Grandſon*. We muſt have a care of theſe *refined Politicians*, who when *defeated* in the *Field*, retrieve their *Loſſes* in the *Cabinet*.——But how?——*Why, let us get ſomething worth keeping, and keep it when we have got it.* Some ſmart Retainer to the Great may ſay I am no *Politician*. True. But I may have *common Senſe*

Senſe for all that. I am not talking about *Negotiating*, but *Acting*. I am ſo little skilled in *Politicks*, that I am not for truſting them *at all*. They are a *ſort* of *Gaming*, in which we have never been *lucky*. Of late Years indeed our *Sharpers* have been too many for *Foreigners* at *Cards*. But in this ſort of *Play*, as *Sharpers* are not employ'd, the *Foreigners* are too *hard* for us *ſtill*.

I know it has been ſaid, though I know not on what grounds, that the reſt of the *Powers* of *Europe* would be diſſatisfied if we made any *Conqueſts* in *America*. But ought this to *fright* us? Which of the *European Powers* ſhewed any extraordinary Concern when the *Spaniards* robb'd and plunder'd us? Who *arm'd*, who entred into *Treaties* to obtain *juſtice* for us, or to humble *Spain*? No Power in *Europe*, becauſe *Peace* was their *Intereſt*. Why then

ſhould they *arm* or enter into *Leagues* on our doing *ourſelves Juſtice?* Why ſhould we imagine they would join *Spain* in *diſtreſs*, when they did not *join* us when we were *injured?* I grant, ſhould we turn *Spaniards*, and pretend to uſurp on the *free Navigation* of other *Nations* to and from their own *Colonies*, ſuch a *League* might be formed. But while we keep within the Bounds of Reaſon, we may better *conquer* like a *Nation*, than *plunder* like *Buccaneers*. The reſt of the *European Powers*, whatever they may pretend, muſt ſecretly *applaud* ſuch a *Conduct*: Beſides, ſuch a Conqueſt will raiſe the *Credit* of our *Arms*, and the *Spirits* of our *People*. *Real* and *certain Advantages* theſe, and thoſe *diſtant* and *chimerical Apprehenſions*.

LET our Situation be remembred when we took *Jamaica* from the *Spaniards*. Were we at that time *united* at *home?*

Had

Had we any conſiderable *Allies* abroad? Neither. Yet we *conquer'd*, and we *kept*. But it may be ſaid the *European Powers* were *divided*, and *jealous* of each other. So they are now, and the *grand Mediatrix* with all her Skill can ſcarce keep them *quiet*. Can it then be ſuppoſed that thoſe who ſaw the *Emperor* weaken'd, and even ſtripp'd of *Belgrade*, the *Bulwark* of *Chriſtendom*, by the *Turks*, without fitting out a *Squadron*, lending him *Troops*, or ſupplying him with *Money*, ſhould immediately unite againſt us on our taking a *ſingle Place* from the *Spaniards*? No. The *States* of *Europe* are neither ſo fond of *Spain*, nor ſo deſirous of *quarrelling* with *us*. We may indeed raiſe ſuch a Spirit, by ſeeming afraid of it. But if we reſume our ancient heroick *Diſpoſition* of neither *offering Wrongs*, nor *bearing* them, we ſhall find few *Nations* inclined to *provoke* us.

THERE is yet another Reaſon which ought to perſuade us into this way of acting. It is this. If we do not purſue it, we muſt again have recourſe to *Negotiations*. We muſt, under the *Auſpice* of ſome *Mediator* or *other*, fall to examining of *Treaties*, proving our *Loſſes*, ſtating our *Demands*, and ſo on for *half* a *ſcore* Years, while the *Spaniards* perhaps are a *plundering*. But we are already *ſick* of this ſort of *Diet*, and therefore let us ſtick to the *other*. For *twenty* Years together we had *Peace* to no *end*, let us have now a *War* to *ſome purpoſe?* I do not mean a cruel, bloody, mercileſs *War*. *God forbid*. All I mean is a *War* for the Advantage of the *Publick*, whereby we may gain *ſomething* as a *People*, after all we have *loſt*; as well as the Reputation of knowing *how*, and *daring* to do ourſelves *juſtice*.

OUR

OUR *Neighbours* are apt to fall into *Errors* about the Strength of *Great Britain* in time of *Peace*, which are ſet right when the *Sword* is drawn. Our neareſt *Allies* on the *Continent* did not imagine that we could put to Sea ſo ſoon ſuch *formidable Fleets*. We have always appeared with Luſtre at the *Head* of *Confederacies*, but we have been moſt *terrible* when we have made War *alone*. I ſpeak this to our *Honour*, and not with a view of repreſenting us as the *Bullies* of *Europe*, which the *Spaniards* have often *been*, and are naturally inclined *to be*. But I ſpeak it as the gallant Effects of *national Reſentment*, when *Right* is not to be come at but by *Force* of *Arms*. Then it is that the *People* of *Britain* forget the *Value* of *Wealth*, and all *Thoughts* of *Safety*, till their *Honour* is *retrived*. And ſhall ſo *brave* a *Nation* ſit down afterwards like a *Prize-Fighter*

Fighter with Honour and a *torn Coat?* No, no; win *fine Clothes* and *wear them.* Let thoſe who did the *Wrong* mourn in *Sackcloth* and *Aſhes:* But let us triumph in the *Juſtice* of our *Cauſe*, and the *Succeſs* of our *Arms.*

THAT we may the better form an *Idea* of the *Right* we have to ſome *Satisfaction*, as alſo what ſort of *Satisfaction* we ought to have, let us conſider briefly what has paſſed between *Spain* and *us* ſince 1714. I know it may be ſurmized, that ſuch a *Recapitulation* may be made a handle for *Reflections*, and that now all Differences about *paſt Meaſures* ought to be *buried* in *Oblivion*; but this concerns not me. I enter on this Retroſpect purely for the ſake of making my Subject clear, and ſhall purſue it without making any *Reflections.* I could wiſh this Method more in uſe than it is at preſent in all *Debates*, and in all *Diſputes* in writing; for

for while Men cry *the Publick, the Publick*, and yet endeavour only to gratify their *private Prejudice*, or to defend their *private Intereſt*, the *Publick* is *undone*. For my part, I have not the ſmalleſt Connection with *any* of our *Parties*. I wiſh the *Whole* well, and no *harm* to *Individuals*, wherefore I hope ſhall have a fair hearing; for if I talk *Nonſenſe*, 'tis *impartial well-meaning Nonſenſe*, and for *Novelty's* ſake deſerves to be heard.

ALL the World knows it was entirely owing to *Great Britain*, that PHILIP V was ever acknowledged King of *Spain* and the *Indies*. The *Regent* of *France*, whom his very Enemies allowed to be a moſt wiſe and diſcerning Prince, own'd as much in a *Manifeſto*, which is the faireſt and moſt authentick Evidence. After this, when King *Philip* married his preſent *Queen*, his Children by her had only a much diſputed Right

till by the *Quadruple Alliance*, out of a pure regard to Equity, it was fixed by the late King GEORGE I. a Prince of incomparable Virtues. And this was done when nothing was to be taken from *Spain*. *Sardinia* was in the *hands* of the *Emperor*, *Sicily* belong'd to the Duke of *Savoy*. King *Philip* had this good turn done him, (beſides his Imperial Majeſty being oblig'd to own his *Title* to *Spain*) merely to conſent to an *Exchange* which coſt him nothing. Yet a War enſued, and, as he had often been before, Maſter *Philly* was *well beat*; but it was all for his *good*, and after a little ſighing and ſobbing, he was ſo gracious as to accept of *two* or *three* Duchies.

THE *Dance* of *Treaties*, into which we were afterwards led, was wholly owing to *Spain*, where (except while Mr. *D.* reſided at that Court) none of our Miniſters could ever meet with fair footing.

footing. One Delay after another, one Demand after another, one ridiculous Complaint on the heels of another, were made uſe of to keep up the Circulation of treating, while that Court in reality was ſeeking out for new *Allies*, in order to ſupport her in quarrelling with *us*, who, when we were ſcarce become her *Friends*, did her more ſervice than all her *Allies* ever did her ſince, and which was very generous, took *nothing* for it. At laſt the Emperor ſet up the *Oſtend* Company, which gave Umbrage to the *Maritime Powers*, and to SPAIN; whereupon ſhe applied firſt to *us* to oppoſe it, as *contrary* to *Treaty* —— and next made, I ſay, next made a *Treaty* with the *Emperor*, for the *Support* of that *Company* againſt *us*, and all *others* who ſhould *oppoſe* it. This was the famous *Treaty* of *Vienna*, followed by that of *Hanover*, which drew us into great Expences.

WHEN theſe Diſputes were finally adjuſted, we endeavoured by freſh Acts of Kindneſs to gain the *Friendſhip* of *Spain*. We had ſecured the *reverſionary Right* of Don *Carlos* before, and now we put him into poſſeſſion of the *Italian* Dominions. When the War broke out with the Emperor, we remained *neuter*, and have teſtified no Diſpleaſure at ſeeing the *Mox Veniet* fulfilled. Now what did we *demand* for all this? —— why, *only* to be *quiet*. But was this granted? *No.* The *Spaniards plunder'd* us all the time. It muſt be owned they pretended to juſtify what they did, by alledging the *illicite Trade*. But when did any *Crown*, eſpecially that of *Spain*, do *wrong*, without ſetting up a *Right* to do it? However, the *Spaniards*, forced by the plaineſt Proofs, have acknowedged, that our Merchants have been injured to a *large Amount*. Who can diſpute then that the

the Nation hath clearly a Right not only to *Reſtitution*, but to a *full Satisfaction* for her *Expences?*

If, as I have indubitably proved, we have for upwards of *twenty Years* been buying and paying for the *Friendſhip* of *Spain*, and *never had* it; why now all *Treaties* are broken off, ſhould not we have our *Money again*, or *ſomething for it?* Is not this a *diſtinct Demand* from the *Merchants?* Is it not a juſt and reaſonable one? Was not this *Nation* fairly, and *bonâ fide*, at all the *neceſſary Charges* for carrying whatever was promiſed on our ſide into execution? Have not all our *Promiſes* been *executed?* Is not *Spain* poſſeſſed at this hour of all theſe *Advantages?* And in our turn, what have we had but *Treaties unperformed*, and *fair Promiſes*, which were *never kept?* Have we not ſeen this aſſerted from the *Throne*, by *Parliament*, and to *us* and *all the World*

World by his Majeſty's *Declaration of War?* What doubt then can ariſe about the *Nation*'s being fairly intitled to *Satisfaction*, to *full Satisfaction* (if we can get it?) For the *Land Taxes*, *Salt Taxes*, and all *other Taxes*, induced by the *Spaniards*, *Breach* of *Faith*, and whatever we have ſuffered farther in our *Trade* or *otherwiſe*, by the *ſame Cauſe*.

I do not pretend to enter into any Calculation of the *Sum*, which might, with propriety, be called a *national Satisfaction*. I would not willingly inflame the Reckoning. I am no Enemy to *Spain*. I am concern'd only as a *Native* of *Britain*, for my *Country*. I remember all the Paſſages I have mentioned, and I believe I could give a tolerable gueſs at the *Extraordinaries* raiſed upon the *Britiſh People*, for many Years treating with, and obliging the *Spaniards*, and for the laſt *two* Years

Years in carrying on a *Spaniſh War*. But without talking of any particular *Sum*, I preſume to ſay, that if we have no *Satisfaction* for it, the *People* will ſuffer exceſſively. And if we have a *Satisfaction*, it muſt come in the way I have propoſed. For if *Spain* could not, or would not pay 95000*l.* when thereby ſhe might have barred all *Claims* from us on *account* of our *Merchants*, ſhe will be leſs inclined perhaps, ſhe will not be in a Condition to *ballance*, what may be made appear *due* to us as a *Nation*, and what as a *Nation*, at leaſt as a *wiſe Nation*, we cannot *compliment away*.

THE *Advantages* reaped heretofore from our *Friendſhip* with *Spain*, were in the *way* of *Trade*. The *Hardſhips* we have met with lately have been in the *way* of *Trade*. I am therefore of opinion, that *Satisfaction* muſt be made us in the *way* of *Trade*, which induced me

me to ſend theſe *Papers* into the *World*. In this way we may be in time, and by good Management among ourſelves, thoroughly *repaired*; and in this way though we are *repaired*, I do not conceive the *Spaniards* will be any *Loſers*, rather I think the *contrary*. Theſe Points, when once cleared up, ſo far as my Capacity will allow, I ſhall ſubmit the *Whole* to the *Publick*, ſuppoſing that herein I have diſcharged my Duty; and that it would be as impertinent in me to enter into a *Plan* for the *Execution* of this *Project*, as it would have been *criminal* not to have publiſhed what I ſincerely thought might contribute in ſuch a *Conjuncture* as this, to the *Benefit* of the *State*.

IN the *firſt place*, I ſay, that by making a *Settlement* in or near the Place mentioned in the MS, we may obtain ſuch a *Trade* as will effectually make good the *Damages* we have ſuſtained,

tained, if that *Trade* be put under neceſſary *Regulations*. How, with whom, and for what we are to trade, is in ſome meaſure explained in the Propoſal. I ſhall however add a few Remarks here. When the *Aſſiento Treaty* was concluded, by which our *South-Sea Company* obtained a *Right* to ſend a *Regiſter Ship* into theſe Parts, it was ſpoken of as a thing prodigiouſly *beneficial* to the *Nation*, and as a mighty *Condeſcenſion* in *Spain*. As to the *publick Benefit*, I ſhall ſay nothing, becauſe, in truth, I have nothing to ſay; only I muſt remark, that we ſet out oddly, and that before the *Company* made a *Shilling* of their *Licence*, ſome *Underſtrappers* of the then *Miniſtry* were for extracting *Thouſands* out of *them*. This mighty Condeſcenſion in *Spain* too amounted to little more than ſhe had formerly granted the *Genoeſe*, and had lately permitted to the *French*, who managed their Trade to the *Spaniſh*

Plantations ſo indifferently, that at length they over-ſtock'd the Market, and were no Gainers by it *themſelves*. Whence I conclude, that our *Trade* here is far from being incompatible with the *Safety* of the *Spaniards*, and that it muſt be *properly regulated*, ſo as to be made uſeful to *us*.

THE *firſt* Obſervation obviates any *Objection* which might be ſtarted, from the *Jealouſy* ſuch a thing might raiſe in other *European Powers*. We know well enough that they are intereſted in the *Concerns* of *Spain*, and we know *why* they would be afraid of ſeeing the *Indian Treaſures* in other hands. But in the preſent caſe ſuch Fears would be *chimerical*. We have many reaſons to deter us from attempting any ſuch thing. We may, in time of *War*, think of attacking and taking *Spaniſh Towns*, and the *Wealth* we find in them. As the *French* did formerly *Carthagene*, and

and in the laſt War the *Portugueſe* Settlement at *Rio de Janeiro*; but for graſping at the *Indies*, it would be equally unreaſonable and impracticable. Such a Settlement as I am ſpeaking of would effectually ſecure a lawful, beneficial *Trade*, which Foreigners might envy, but could have no more right to *diſturb* us in, than in the *Poſſeſſion* of *Gibraltar* or *Jamaica*.

THE *Spaniards* themſelves, how much ſoever they might be alarmed at *firſt*, would by degrees find out many Conveniences in this *Settlement*; I ſhall mention *two*, which I take to be very conſiderable. *Firſt*, the *Catholick King* might, by proper *Duties* on the *inland Commerce*, indemnify himſelf for what is paid to the *Chamber* of the *Indies* for *Licence* to *trade* here: And *ſecondly*, if neceſſary Precautions were taken about the Traffick in this place, an end would be put to that *clandeſtine Trade*, [for it

would be then our Intereſt, as well as his] about which ſo much *noiſe* has been made. Our Concerns would be in a manner one in thoſe Parts, and conſequently we ſhould join together in promoting them. I do not ſay but *intriguing Governours* might poſſibly promote *publick Jars* for the ſake of *private Benefit*, but I am ſure theſe could not be of *long Continuance*, or, after a little time, of any *great Importance*.

THE *Trade* with the *Spaniards* this way, would be a Trade of the ſame Nature with that to which we were intitled by *Treaty*; and though it may be enlarged, and on our ſide ſecured by this means, yet could it not poſſibly be conſtrued into a *Trade* dangerous to the *Spaniards*, (who from pure neceſſity have always permitted, and cannot be without it) or alarming to the other *States* who have *Dominions* in that part of the World, for it interferes with

none

none of *them*. But theſe are no Reaſons why both may not be pretended. However, I hope the Eyes of this Nation are ſufficiently opened, not to be led aſide by *Pretenſions*. We know how many Years *Spain pretended* ſhe would *do* us *juſtice*, but we paid dearly for truſting to her *Pretenſions*. Other *Powers* alſo have pretended great Concern for the *ill Uſage* we met with. But methinks we have drawn little *Benefits* from theſe *Pretences*. Let us therefore beware at laſt of all *Pretences*. Let us judge coolly and fairly of what is *neceſſary* for our own *Intereſt*, and let us not be beaten from this *Judgment* by any *Pretences* whatſoever. We have, without queſtion, as good a *Right* as any other Nation to do ourſelves *juſtice* when we are *injured*, and no body can have a *Right* to dictate to us what we ſhall account *Juſtice*.

BUT we are not to imagine that the Trade with the *Spaniards* is the ſole Advantage to be drawn from this *Settlement*; beſides that, there will be others of infinite Conſequence, and ſome which are not mentioned in the foregoing *Memorial*. In the Voyage made by Monſ. *Acarete du Biſcay*, of which the Author of the MS ſpeaks ſo much, (and which, to deal ingenuouſly, I have never ſeen) there was a certain *Engliſhman* who had lived long in *Spain* gain'd his Paſſage, and had a principal *Truſt* in all that *Affair*. His *Journal* I have by me, and a multitude of very curious Particulars are contained therein; from whence I am induced to believe we might open a *Trade* with the *Indians* to vaſt Advantage. This ought to give no Diſpleaſure to the *Spaniards*, ſince they from long Experience are certain, that theſe *Indians* will have no *Commerce* whatſoever with them, eſpecially in

in the way we ought to *aim* at. As to the Umbrage *another Power* might take at a Settlement in the *Vicinity* of their *Plantations*, it might be eaſily removed by proper Aſſurances of *Protection*, rather than *Annoyance* from the *Britiſh Colony* ſettled there. Which Promiſes, I imagine, it will be always found our *Intereſt* religiouſly to *perform*.

It were indeed to be wiſhed, that both in *Europe* and *America*, the Reputation of the old *Britiſh* Sincerity was inflexibly maintained. This would incline our *Friends* and *Allies* to run any *hazard* rather than *deſert* us, as of old did the *Allies* of *Rome*. This would oblige our very *Enemies* to *revere* us, and this would in a ſhort time raiſe us, not to that proud and arbitrary Dignity, fatal to all who have pretended to it, Universal Monarchy, but to a *Superiority* founded in *Virtue*, to an *Authority* grounded in *Equity*, and to a laſting and unenvied

unenvied *Peace*. This is the *Condition* at which we ought to *aim*, and at which we ſhall never arrive by the *crooked ways* of *Machiavellian Policy*. Let us then lay aſide our fooliſh *Diviſions* at *home*, provide for the *reſtoring* our *ancient Integrity*, and baniſh from amongſt us, that *Corruption* which is ſo loudly, ſo generally complained of. And now what remains but that we recommend *this*, and *all* our *Concerns* to the *ſupreme Arbiter* of the *Univerſe*, the GOD of *Juſtice*, and of *Battles*, to whom after *long ſuffering* we have appealed for the *Deciſion* of our *Cauſe*.

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